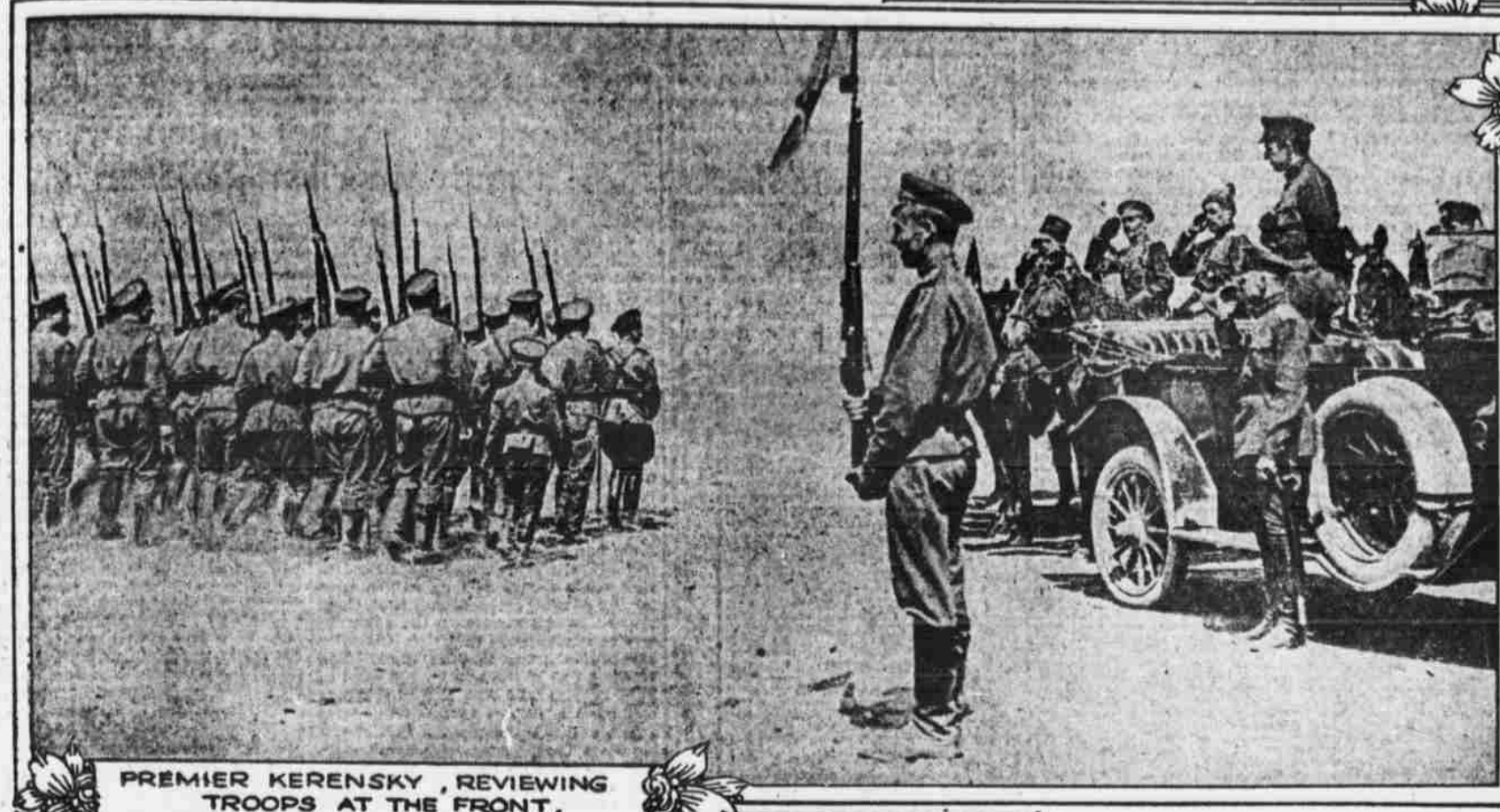


KERENSKY'S SPEECHES REVEAL FIERY IDEALISM FOR RUSSIA



PREMIER KERENSKY REVIEWING TROOPS AT THE FRONT.



COUNCIL OF WORKMEN'S AND SOLDIERS' DELEGATES AT PETROGRAD.

Impassioned as a Crusader, Premier of New Republic
Stakes All on Plain Truth, Appealing to Reason as
Well as Emotion to Assure Liberty

By LOUIS S. FRIEDLAND.
Associate Editor of the "Russian Review."

WHEN the history of the present events in Russia comes to be written Kerensky's stirring speeches will be ranked with those of the great orators of the past, the men who expressed in burning words the unconquerable spirit of liberty and roused nations with their call to arms.

Kerensky's addresses are powerful and moving. They are clear, ringing, magnetic, sincere outbursts of a man who rose to a tremendous occasion. The great Premier of the Russian Republic arouses enthusiasm by his fiery idealism and ardor. He has the impassioned earnestness of a crusader. But he appeals to the reason as well as to the emotions. He speaks incisively, straight to the point and stakes everything on the plain, unvarnished truth. He never attempts to gloss over a grave situation, for he is far from being a "blooming diplomat."

In his speeches Kerensky summons his countrymen to fight in defense of their fatherland and for the liberties of the world. "There is no such thing as a Russian front," he said recently; "there is only one general allied front. The fate of the country is in your hands, and it is in extreme danger. History must be able to say of us, 'They died, but they were never slaves!'" Kerensky calls upon men to whom the taste of freedom is new to unite their strength against the foe without and the foe within the gate. He tells them that they must conquer their sluggishness, their weakness and their anarchy. He utters a ringing cry for men.

At a recent meeting of the Council of Soldiers' and Workmen's Delegates Kerensky appeared and delivered a forceful and brilliant speech that was a scene of wild enthusiasm followed, and he showed their devotion to the cause of the soldier delegates, throwing on the platform their crosses of honor, pledging their faith to their Minister of War and paying him a personal tribute at the same time.

His Great Popular Triumph

It is difficult for us to realize how completely Kerensky has won the sympathy and devotion of the great majority of Russians. The Russian newspapers are filled with details of the emotions that greet him wherever he goes. At a recent meeting of the Council of Peasants, Chernov, then Minister of Agriculture, and Plekhanov, Minister of Provisional Affairs, addressed the assembly. They were listened to attentively, and their words were received with friendly applause. But when Kerensky arrived the din and clamor of joyous greeting surpassed all expectations.

The cheering lasted fifteen minutes. Fired by the wonderful outburst Kerensky delivered a speech which the Russian papers described as "gripping." And they were frank words that he spoke. "Comrades, I was never a soldier, and I never experienced what discipline means; nevertheless I am determined to establish an iron discipline in the army; and I am sure that I shall succeed, for it will be a discipline of duty to the country, a discipline of honor. Its aim is to defend the right of the Russian people to freedom and independence."

When the Premier finished his speech the cheering was renewed. A number of the delegates rushed to the platform, lifted the chair on which Kerensky sat and carried him in triumph through the hall to his waiting automobile. In a moment the hall was empty. All rushed to the corridors, then to the vestibule to see their idol off. Only when the automobile disappeared did they return to the assembly.

Similar scenes are reported by the Russian newspapers. In Odessa at a conference of soldiers from the front if it would never end. The vast assembly rose as if one man. The Russian leader threw red roses into the boxes and the parterre, and as he entered the box where the allied ambassadors sat, there were cries of "We are with you, Kerensky!"

After his speech to the soldiers and sailors at Helmingfors, the chairman, Maximov, cried out, "Citizens, will you promise your Minister without hesitations, your Minister from among the workers, that you will carry out his orders better than those of the Czar's ministers, the Adjutant-Generals?"

And one mighty cry arose, "We promise!" Then representatives of the different military detachments came up to greet their Minister. Frank and Tupin of the Lithuanian marksmen hand Kerensky their decorations for bravery, the Crosses of St. George, and a fresh burst of enthusiasm breaks out. Kerensky accepts them and kisses the two soldiers. He has a bright red ribbon around his arm with the inscription, "Commander of the Fleet."

Message is Always "Forward!"

A full list of Kerensky's speeches, delivered in all parts of Russia, would bear witness to the tireless activity and impassioned zeal of the man. Here we shall give only a few of the most interesting of the addresses. The inspiring message of all of them is "Forward!—forward in the name of freedom, responsible liberty and a finer humanity!" Whatever Kerensky says is refreshing in its frank explicitness and straightforward honesty. There is no befuddling "diplomacy" in his statements, and on the other hand he has borne witness to his undying hatred of democracy in two articles which he wrote recently for the radical magazine *Northern Notes*.

Last May at a general meeting of delegates of the army and navy, held at Helmingfors, the capital of Finland, Kerensky spoke as follows: "Comrades: The enthusiasm which you always experience when we meet and which shows not a love for my person but a love for the ideals of equality and fraternity whose servants we are—that enthusiasm, that impulse of our emotions ought to be organized into an iron machine for creativeness. It ought to forge new and sturdy, democratic life, of a democratic government."

"Two months ago I came to you as your comrade and the Minister of Justice; now I come before you as your comrade and the Minister of the Army and Navy. What has happened, then, during these two months? What have we lived through? Comrades, our country has passed through many glorious experiences, but also through many terrible ones. There were moments when doubt assailed us and when we began losing our strength and our faith in the civil wisdom and creativeness of the Russian people. Then, comrades, I came to you as the sole representative of democracy in the provisional Government, but now, as you well know, I am not alone, and there are with me my comrades of revolutionary struggle."

"For two months there was hesitation. And since we are now together I may tell you that I won. But how did we master the great decision to take upon us the responsibility of getting together with the democratic bourgeoisie? The decision came with the wisdom of two months of discussion. During that time the Russian democracy has accomplished what took our comrades abroad long years and trying decades. And now we are together. We have proved that the Russian people, the Russian democracy, and all that are in it, may look into the future without fear. We have shown that we are civically mature and prepared to come into the great inheritance of the revolution."

Devotion in the Old Days

"In the days of the old regime, Russian democracy and Russian free thought were under the heels of autocracy. But during all that time we had the interests of the country at heart—we ached for it, we shed bitter tears for it, and in quiet ranks, one after the other, we faced death when it was necessary. But we also knew that our people must throw off the Asiatic autocracy and enter the family of European peoples, and through all those years we drew our people in that direction. Now that we have arrived we need to strengthen our position, for we do not intend to create a German order of government, but a democratic republic in the full sense of the word."

"Comrades, while remaining a Socialist, I accepted the duties of Minister of the Army and the Navy. I accepted them because, at the present time, the struggle at the front is also a revolutionary struggle. Having gained our right to freedom, having paid for it with the blood of millions of our brothers, we are not going to let the enemy deprive us of our freedom."

"We said openly that we wanted no grabs, no subjugation; we do not desire the riches of other peoples. We wanted an early peace. But those to whom we said these things could not understand us otherwise than as men

unable to defend our rights by force. And they began fraternizing at our front, and at the same time they sent their best troops to the French front and are now destroying the first democracy of Europe. And this is not all. After the brief period of fraternization they had in their possession photographs of our positions and batteries that were concealed so well as not to be visible from above."

"We want to end the war as soon as possible. But we are not going to end it except on honorable terms worthy of a free country. We will do this in spite of the men and Governments that do not understand words of magnanimity. This shows, comrades, how careful one must be and how often the censor and simplicity of the Russian heart is imposed upon and taken advantage of. And also here in Finland [here the Minister raised his voice] we must be particularly cautious, for our magnanimity, our love may be interpreted as weakness and impotence, and not alone by the Germans."

Revolution Creates

"Revolution—that is creation; revolution is power, and let no one suppose that the revolutionary people is weaker than the old Czarism, and that it is not to be considered. No, you will have to reckon with it! "Comrades, I accepted the duties of Minister of the Army and the Navy for one further reason. I wanted all to know that the Russian military power is a power for good, a power striving toward freedom, a magnanimous power."

"Some of our comrades say: 'We don't want this and we won't go there; we reject this and we won't give up that.' What does all this mean? It means that they wish to stay at home and be free from all responsibility. But to undertake a task and the responsibility for it, to strive, rise, create new life—that is an ordeal worthy of a free, revolutionary people!"

"I confess that I did not always believe in this happy outcome, in this new page of the history of Russia. But it has come about. So let us strengthen what we have accomplished, and let us not fear repetition. At the conclusion of this speech representatives of various detachments made short addresses, hailing their leader, their Molotov comrade Minister. He was presented with a bouquet of tulips. On the evening of that same day Kerensky and his staff were in the committee of the organization. He said:

"I entered upon the duties of Minister of the Army and the Navy only after a categorical order from the provisional Government and from the organizations and parties that compose it. It was hard for me to undertake the task, for at present the condition of the Russian Empire, the country for which so much blood of the people's noblest sons was shed, is peculiarly trying not only in war but in fact."

"The difficulty consists in that the words and principles that seem to us as clear as two times two make four, when they fall on the fertile but naive soil of our masses, become slogans not of construction but of destruction."

"The slogan 'War without annexation' was understood not as a political slogan but as a belief in the, as a proposal to stop all military operations and not take a step forward. Having left a cynically small portion of their army at our front, the Germans flung their divisions on the French front and checked the development of the Zimmermann said: 'For us Russia no longer exists as a country that we are to reckon with.'"

"Freedom of speech, freedom of ideas and their propaganda are guaranteed in Russia as nowhere else. Fully aware of the aims of certain individuals and of the interests of the country, we did not hinder them in their activities, realizing that the road to freedom lies not through persecution and coercion but through the civil wisdom of the leaders who are determined at all hazards to build up a strong military organism that will be in a position to defend Russian freedom and the future of Russia against the menace of a disgraceful disruption."

"And you understand that such an organism as the army and the navy is effective only when it is an organism functioning with the precision, definiteness and regularity of the finest mechanical device, not on the basis of coercion but on that of mutual trust and the readiness of every member to do his part."

"I want and as Minister of the Army and the Navy I insist that a discipline be established in the navy,



ALEXANDER F. KERENSKY.

a discipline of wisdom and good faith that will restore and put into operation the subtle, complicated and yet fragile organism of the navy."

"I see among you sailors, workmen, soldiers, officers, Admirals, Generals, and I appeal to you in the name of the vast majority of the Russian people who want to live in freedom and with honor, I appeal to you, and of those that are deaf to the voice of conscience and reason I demand, that all do their work faithfully and disinterestedly, denying themselves all that can be denied, for the sake of a quick ending of this critical period of transition."

Must Learn Freedom's Bounds

"Russia is now the freest country, the Russian navy the freest of navies. To find within yourselves the limit of that freedom, to realize when freedom means disintegration, to see that the loosening of the bonds of discipline among the parts of the fleet spells destruction of the entire organism—that is the task I invite you, comrades, all of you, to help in accomplishing."

Kerensky then invited questions from the floor, and in reply to one with regard to the intention of the Allies to accept the formula of peace without annexation or indemnities he said: "Don't you see that a man in a thoroughly ridiculous position when he is being beaten and at the same time shouts that he loves every one and has no intention of hurting anybody?"

"The question of annexation and indemnities is not the problem of the countries whose territories were seized but of the country that did the seizing. And for this reason, in order that the country which did the seizing may be called upon to reckon with the opinion of those it considers vanquished, the latter need not only words but also force."

"On the other hand we, the provisional Government in its new position, have discussed the situation from all angles. We found it to be a very grave one, for at present we are not strong enough to impress the enemy countries not only with words but also with the threat of military force. What does it mean to take steps? It means to conduct negotiations, definitely and persistently, in accordance with our declaration, and this work is being done. But the international life, the communications between the individual Governments, is a peculiar work and requires special methods. The distance and the difficulty of communication owing to the

German submarines, make our position very trying."

"At all events, if we desire to attain our international aims we must command the respect of the entire world, and this can be attained only by a strong country."

"One of Kerensky's most important speeches was delivered at a congress of railway men which met in Petrograd. At the time Kerensky was Minister of Justice, but that has since been transformed into the central, dominating figure in Russia is shown by the words of M. Nekrasov in introducing him. Nekrasov, then Minister of Communications, paid Kerensky a noble, heartfelt tribute:

"Allow me, as a senior comrade, to address myself in your name to my colleagues in the Ministry, Kerensky, and to tell him that we railway men know what Kerensky means to the Russian revolution. I say this not only because I have the great honor to be his friend but because I have watched him during the day of struggle, and I know what he has done for the Russian revolution."

"Citizens, everybody may be forgotten, every one's role may be effaced, but Kerensky will never be forgotten by Russia. There is much that cannot be revealed as yet. History will tell it later. We only know that the real center of the movement, its true fermenting spirit, the one who raised the banner of revolution in the Duma, was Kerensky. He was also the first to see the enormous responsibility before history and before the nation, and the first to shoulder the mighty burden."

"Citizens, for us Kerensky is not a Minister, nor even a popular tribune. He may even be said to have ceased to be a human being—he is the symbol of democracy. Kerensky's presence in the Cabinet appears to me to symbolize the fact that over the provisional Government hovers the spirit of democracy. Permit me to take here before you the oath of Hannibal that Kerensky will not remain alone in the Cabinet; that I, your Minister, strong in your trust and appreciating my responsibility before you, will always go hand in hand with your comrade and my comrade—Kerensky."

The applause that followed was deafening. Kerensky began with a tribute to the important role that the railway men had played during the days of the revolution and told about the efforts that were making for the founding of a strong and stable democracy in Russia. Then he spoke about the future of Russia, and the responsibility that rested on all men to make good the work of the revolution:

"Comrades, carrying out the will of the people, the provisional Government has cast aside entire, with reference to the war, the old programme; all aims of annexations, conquests and acquisitions have been discarded once and for all. At the same time the provisional Government and the nation will prove that we are doing this not because of weakness but because it is our will to do so. The Russian democracy will take first place in Europe, not humbled and weakened, but mighty and proud in her greatness. We want it to be so and there is nothing that can prevent this will of the Russian people."

"We are told of the danger of a counter revolution, we are warned of the necessity of rigorous action toward the representatives of the old regime. As Minister of Justice, as a Socialist and your comrade, I will answer this: We have no one and nothing to fear. I know that socialism is worship of labor, adoration of the human being. We fight against the old regime, but we do not persecute individuals that have already been humbled, have suffered sufficiently and are now in the deep contempt of the Russian people. I trust, comrades, that the Russian democracy will for the first time complete the whole world to respect the principles of freedom, equality and fraternity, the principles of socialism."

"The world will then see that the fundamental democratic rule, thoroughly deliberated and introduced from the bottom, will not only safeguard the interests of the working people but will raise the standards of the free individuality of man to invincible heights."

These words were spoken not long after the overthrow of the Russian autocracy. Since then Kerensky has come to realize the full difficulty of the problems of reconstruction that face his country. His more recent utterances have been aimed to arouse the social sense of responsibility, responsibility to the nation and to its allies.

To Men From the Front

At a conference of delegates from the front held in Odessa, Kerensky said on May 19:

"Fellow Citizens: At our meeting I see the same enthusiasm that has swept throughout the land, and I feel with you the great inspiration which is experienced but once in centuries. It is like the Russian revolution that transformed slaves into freemen, and the hearts of all the people of Russia beat in unison, and it may be our lot to repeat the fairy tale of the French Revolution. So onward, comrades! Let us leap forward, and with faith in the happiness and greatness of our people let us win peace for the whole world!"

"Our slogan must be ideas and not men. Our slogan is 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,' and our war cry is 'Forward!' At the utterance of this battle cry comrades have happened. We passed to the very front order of government, we reaped the harvest on blood soaked fields. And we are not the ones to dispose of the harvest as we please. We are only the trustees of Russia's treasure. Perhaps we are beginning a new era for the whole world, and the shady plains will be covered with fertile soil. I come to you as a representative of the revolutionary part of the people which must guard this treasure."

"We must not think of discord, of party programmes and their differences, of whether we have enough to eat or not. The last two months have forced to bite the dust those who looked upon the Russian people as slaves. Only toil can create true citizens, only toiling masses will see in their neighbor a fellow being. It is in these two months that the slogan now on everybody's lips was born."

"Before we begin a struggle within us, we must have a place for that struggle. We must have a government based on firm foundations and on a feeling of respect for man and his work. We have lived through a period of destruction; we must understand that such a period cannot be repeated, and we must march in unbroken ranks of revolutionary warriors, on the front or within the country. And every one of us must recall the bitter memory of his past and find the awakened conscience, the revolutionary citizenship to forego all that is personal."

"We are threatened by a serious power. Men who are united in their hatred of the new order will find a way to destroy Russian freedom. They are clever enough to understand that proclaiming a Czar will not do, because there is no bayonet back of him. So they proceed in a treacherous way, in a damnable way. They go to the hungry masses,

corrupted by the old regime, and say: 'Demand everything at once!' They whisper words of distrust against us who have spent our lives in the struggle against Czarism. Among us there are also idealists whose gaze is fixed heavenward and who are leading us to anarchy."

"To them we must say, 'Halt! Do not shatter the foundations of the new order!'"

"It is easy to criticize and destroy, but that is not what the Russian revolution demands of her sons. She demands civil wisdom, demands that we cease playing upon the weariness of men already exhausted by the old regime. In coming to you I discharge my duty as a man responsible for the fate of the last and of the ideals I have served all my life. We have a right to speak the truth and we must know how to listen to it. All that we have gained is now at stake."

"If the Russian people, especially the Russian army, will not find in themselves manhood enough, will not find the steel armor of discipline, we shall perish, and we shall be despised by the whole world. Not only we, but the ideals of socialism, in whose name we created the revolution, will be despised. This we must not permit to happen. You are the freest army in the world. Your rights impose upon you obligations such as no other soldiers have. We must see to it that the adherents of the German system of the whip have no occasion to say, 'Russian freedom has shown what a free army means; it has shown that only an army of iron and of brutality can be victorious.'"

"Your historical duty is to show that the discipline of free spirits is stronger than the discipline of iron. If you fail to do this future generations will curse you. You remember the French Revolution. It was merciless to all who hindered progress, whether they were of the Right or the Left. We do not want to repeat the Reign of Terror and we have abolished capital punishment. We are striving not to debase our great ideals with blood and coercion. As a result our enemies flock to us of their own will, for we are a free people. But I am convinced that you understand the meaning of duty. I come here not to bludge on behalf of the Russian army but in order that I may, together with you, accomplish the great deed. And then we may forget the accused past and leap forward, in the name of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

Addressing an extraordinary session of the City Council of Odessa, Kerensky said in part:

"Of course not all of you here are worshippers of the ideal of socialism. Not all of you can part readily with class privileges. But autocracy will never come back. The master of the land will be democracy. This is not a destructive force—it is creative."

"Democracy does not demand that all be painted in its colors. It is strong enough to respect other principles and to give freedom to everybody under the sun."

"We have one mighty problem to strengthen the foundations of the democratic republic that is being born in pain, amid a war the like of which has never been known hitherto."

In Kiev at a meeting of the United Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies Kerensky again pledged his faith and that of Russia to the cause of the Allies:

or secret wishes. We don't covet the riches of other countries, but we want to secure our own, we want to preserve the honor and dignity of a revolutionary people."

"If the revolution brought a momentary weakening of our physical power at the front, it at the same time strengthened the ideal of democracy throughout the world and struck a blow at reactionary power everywhere. 'Yes, it is hard to die, but it is still harder to demand of others that they die. A revolution is not a holiday, but an ordeal, a time when we must renounce ourselves. It is a purging sacrifice for the sins of the past and in the name of future happiness, I believe that we shall have manhood enough to tide over this most glorious but also most difficult period. The bayonet of the Russian army has become a bit dull, but it will not be stuck into the ground until the Russian soldier shall feel that the rights of his country are no longer infringed upon.'"

It was in the same city, Kiev, that Kerensky announced his firm resolve to see it through, or as the Russians put it, to drink his cup of tea to the bottom:

"Citizens, this is not the time for words. It is the time for action. All that I have been observing of late makes me suffer. I may be unable to justify all the hopes placed in me, but comrades, somewhere deep in my soul I have faith that I shall be able to do it."

"I am going to the front with the passionate desire to stop fraternization with the enemy. I shall not burden of authority in order to show the world that our army and navy are able to defend liberty and bring peace to humanity. No one can doubt that, whatever I do, whatever degree of power I reach, I must guide the country safely to the harbor of the Constituent Assembly."

Kerensky's speeches have the true creative fire of inspiration, for they are intended to give birth to free citizenship. They are an appeal to men. Will he cry aloud in the wilderness unheard? At the present moment Russia is facing its most perilous crisis since the outbreak of the revolution.

But Kerensky is Russia's man of power. That land of troubled destinies has always suffered from a lack of man of strong character, driving force, indomitable will. His extraordinary popularity will cement the opposing factions. His stubborn determination will awaken national consciousness and arouse the might which is Russia. It is a land that has remarkably powers to recover from its innumerable past misdeeds. Even its incalculable passive resistance is a weapon against the national enemy. When its spirit is aroused Russia is irresistible.

CALLING IN A SOOTHING DRUG

THERE was at one time plenty of a certain drug made abroad to meet even the frequent calls for it. All hands were able to get what they needed, and many were calling for it. But there came war and by degrees the supply diminished. After a while it was gone altogether. Those who had found relief in it suffered now without a remedy.

"I know what I will do," said a shrewd, so very shrewd, chemist. "I will send out to the West and South, where much of the drug has been sent, the people their remedy, for its efficiency and fall to buy it. So in many drug stores of the smaller towns there will be much of this remedy, available. I will buy up all the supply and make it by those who have been accustomed to use it."

This process was successful, as in the South and middle West much of the drug was found. A comparatively large supply was brought back and in turn distributed to the dealers. A bottle that had once cost \$1 or less sold for nine times as much. But strangely enough, there was nothing like the demand for the article that had been expected. Nobody came seeking it. What had been a heavy demand stopped altogether.

After a while the reason became clear, but it was small comfort to the men who had spent their money for what they expected to sell at high prices. The disappearance of the drug from the market had been so complete that none of it was expected until after the war. One year without it had led physicians to give up prescribing it for their patients. It had entirely changed their minds as to its remedy, so there is a lot of it to be had in New York at wartime prices, only the buyers have so far failed to put in an appearance.

But it was only an accident, the chemist says, that made his shrewdness fail.